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Local Elites and Public Space Sustainability: the local elite roles in the presence and usage of public space in Malang Raya, Indonesia

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Abstract

Public space has become a major concern in urban area development due to its close relation with human security issues such as socio economic, health, and environmental security. In the development of urban area in Indonesia, decentralization system giving greater authority and power to the local government has increased the dynamics of local political constellation. Consequently, the presence and usage of public space in urban area cannot be separated from the interest of local political elites. This study investigated the roles of local political elites in the presence and usage of public space in urban area in Indonesia's decentralization era. The focused areas were Malang Municipality, Batu Municipality and Malang Regency that commonly known in Indonesia as the Metropolitan Malang Raya. The result of this study revealed that local political business elites frequently influenced economical and political decisions to steer a public space utilization in order to defend and expand their wealth and power. In this case, lobbying and negotiation among elites had big influences. Moreover, the access to the local mass base such as the Aremania soccer fans society seems to be significant to their strategies. The results of this study revealed that the utilization of public spaces as a part of human security fulfillment is often defeated by business and political interests.

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1. Introduction

Public space (including green open space, pedestrian road, traditional markets, shopping precincts, town square, parks, and government buildings) plays vital roles in various aspects of human life. Thus, it closely relates to the security issues of human life. In this case, public spaces are not only dealing with social economic securities, but also health and environmental securities [1, 2, 3].

In the development of urban areas, the presence of public spaces is often determined by the interest of many parties such as local political business actors. In Indonesia, these actors are gaining more authority and power owing to decentralization policy which also increases the dynamics of local politics constellation in cities and regions [4, 5, 6]. Therefore, it is fundamentally important to analyze motives and strategies of local political business elites in influencing the utilization of public spaces in urban area. However, the study focused on the impact of local political business elites to the presence and usage of public spaces in urban area has rarely been conducted in recent studies, which usually separated the analysis of public space utilization and the hidden urban political scenes.

The present study aims to analyze the roles of local elites (*i.e.*, local political business actors) in the presence and usage of public space in urban area in Indonesia's decentralization era, particularly under the new Act No.32/2004. Based on indications of the presence of strong local elites which are affecting urban politics constellation, the area focused on the present study were Malang Municipality, Batu Municipality and Malang Regency commonly known in Indonesia as the Metropolitan Malang Raya. The result of this study revealed that local political business elites used various strategic patterns to influence economical and political policies related to the presence and usage of various public spaces in urban areas. In this case, the utilization of public spaces as a part of human security fulfillment is often defeated by business and political interests.

2. Research questions and methodology

The present study was conducted to answer the following questions: 1) how are the roles of local elites (*i.e.*, local political business elites) in the presence and usage of public space in Malang Raya? and 2) what are their main motives and strategies in influencing the utilization of public spaces?.

This study was a descriptive qualitative research that used a field research as main means in collecting primary data. It was conducted through conducting direct interview with politician, journalists, Indonesian researchers, and NGOs activists. In addition, this research also used information from media and literatures as secondary data.

3. Study area description; Malang Raya area

"Malang Raya" is a term representing parts of the former residency of Malang (East Java province, Indonesia) namely Malang Municipality, Malang Regency, and Batu Municipality. The area is known as the Metropolitan Malang Raya. Malang Municipality is the second largest city in East Java province, Indonesia. Batu Municipality formerly was the part of Malang Regency known as Batu district. The district was firstly designated as an administrative city and then established as a separate municipality. In the governmental processes, three regional heads in Malang Raya often coordinated in any activity potentially involving the three administrative regions including socio-economic, health and environmental aspects of people life.

4. Public spaces and human securities

Public spaces are commonly defined as a social space which is generally accessible and open for everyone [7]. In urban area, the places that can be referred as public spaces are green open spaces, pedestrian roads, traditional markets, shopping precincts, town squares, parks, government buildings etc. In Indonesia, public space often provides socio-economic functions such as the street vendors hawking wares and a place to sell various services. Public spaces can also become lungs of the city and an evacuation space in case of natural disasters, and thus, their presents are very closely related to the health and environmental issues. Therefore, the present of public spaces are rationale related with the socio-economic, health, and environmental security issues of people in urban areas.

The word security in common usage indicates a freedom of various risks [9]. The security is the condition of being protected from or not exposed to danger [10]. According to King [9], the idea of security contains two key elements: an orientation to future risks and a focus on risks of falling below some critical threshold of deprivation. In this case, anything that related to possible risks to human live aspects (including socio-economic, health, and environmental aspects) can be connected to a term of human securities. Hence, the present of public spaces in the urban area that closely related with the socio-economic, health, and environmental aspects of human life are much related with the human security issues. Human security aims to ensure the survival, livelihood and dignity of people in response to current and emerging threats which are widespread and cross cutting. At the present day, people throughout the world live under varied conditions of insecurity which seriously challenge both governments and people [11].

5. Public space utilization in decentralized Indonesia

The presence and usage of public spaces have become one of the most important aspects in urban development planning due to various functions provided by public spaces in support the life of people. A planning approach is required to guide physical development of urban public spaces. Master planning is hereby an analytical and creative activity resulting in a coordinated set of planning about the actions to accomplish stated goals. The planning will help government to create and maintain the public spaces in order to provide an appropriate sustainable development for people in their territory.

The presence and usage of public spaces are highly affected by the governmental system in where the public spaces exist. Some significant changes in the government system in Indonesia (*i.e.*, political and administrative system) have taken place since the fall of Soeharto in 1998. One of them is the shift of policy from a high centralized system of administration to a decentralized system [4, 5]. This policy transferred down some elements from the central government in domestic affairs to the provincial, regent and municipal administration. Full autonomy is being placed at regency and municipality level, while province is given limited autonomy [4]. Full autonomy means that local government gain their own discretion to create and implement local policies as far as they do not violate national law and disturb public interests, while limited autonomy means that the authorities of provincial government are limited to what are promulgated in the law and can only make and implement policies in domestic affairs within that limit [4, 5]. In this paradigm, the present and usage of public spaces are expected to be more relevant with local conditions in order to promote better and right utilization of public spaces to support human life aspects.

The implementation of decentralization system in Indonesia has increased the dynamic of local political constellation in cities and regions, particularly, after the implementation of decentralization under Act No. 32/2004 which promoted the direct election (PILKADA, *Pemilihan Langsung Kepala Daerah*) to choose the local government heads. Hence, the policies related to urban development including the presence and usage of public spaces will be greatly affected by the political constellation. The decision related to the presence and usage of public spaces itself is mainly regulated in the local regulation (Perda, *Peraturan Daerah*) especially that regulate the spatial plans in the area as result of political agreement between local government head and local legislative members (DPRD, *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah*). In this case, the drafting and implementation of the regulation related to the public spaces is very likely being affected by interest of local elites such as political and business elites. Consequently, the presence and usage of public spaces in decentralization era cannot be separated from the roles of local political business elites, and thus, it is fundamentally important to analyze the influence of local political business elites to the presence and usage of public spaces in urban area such as Malang Raya.

6. Public spaces utilization in Malang Raya

6.1. Green open space

Green open space can be defined as land that is partly or completely covered with grass, trees, shrubs, or other vegetation that accessible to the public [11]. Urban green space is an indispensable element of urban quality of life which is environmental, and sometimes historic-ecological, asset of great importance for any city [2, 11]. Leeuwen

et al. [2] proposed that green open space may reinforce the identity of town and cities, which can enhance their attractiveness for living, working, investment and tourism, and therefore, can contribute positively to both the quality of life and the competitiveness of cities. Moreover, green open space may also balance the negative impact of human activities by reducing pollutants, releasing oxygen, maintain certain degree of humidity, regulate rainfall, moderate changes of temperature, and become a watershed in urban area. Green open space can significantly contribute to the maintenance of a healthy urban environment and maintain the balance of city's natural urban environment [2, 3]. However, even the important function of green open space have already been known by many parties, the presence of public space in the urban area such as Malang Raya is decreasing mainly due to the replacement of green open space for other usages such as construction of housing and shopping centre. Green open space in Malang Municipality is only about 4% of total the entire area in 2007 [14] and predicted to be continuously decrease until just about 1 % in 2060 [15].

The decline of the quality and quantity of green space in urban areas such Malang Raya have a significant contribution to the increasing of CO₂ emissions [16]. Another main problem that caused by the declining of green open space in Malang Raya is the decreasing of urban watersheds led to the flooding problem in this area. This analysis is supported by the secretary of public works agency of Malang Municipality who said that one main reason for flooding in Malang is the over function of green open space as a watershed location [17]. The public awareness about the important function of the presence and usage of green open space in Malang Raya seems to be not exactly low. Almost in all of the over function of green open spaces in Malang Raya were accompanied by the protest of many parts of Malang Raya people such as non-governmental organization, student movement organization, and people that live around the green open spaces. However, it seems that the utilization of green open spaces in Malang Raya often more determined by the interest of local political elites and business interests.

Malang Town Squares

Malang Town Squares (MATOS) is one of the largest malls in the Malang Municipality established in middle of 2005. The controversy begins with the fact that the mall was built on the location actually intended for the academic and watershed location. Near the MATOS (ca. in radius of less than 3 Km), there are 6 universities (Brawijaya University, State University of Malang, Islamic State University of Malang, State Polytechnic of Malang, National Institute of Technology, Graduate School of Muhammadiyah University of Malang) that can be included in 6 biggest universities in Malang Raya, 3 high schools, 3 elementary schools and 2 kindergartens. Interestingly, even the spatial plans in Malang Municipality regulated in local regulation (PERDA) Number 7 of 2001 about the spatial plans of Malang Municipality 2001 – 2011, explore that the location of MATOS can be used only to academic and watersheds purposes, the local government of Malang Municipality still give permission for the developer to build the mall. The permission is become more controversial when the public found that MATOS did not have the Environmental Impact Assessment (AMDAL, *Analisis Manajemen Dampak Lingkungan*) certificate which is important as the requirements to get permission to build the construction. Moreover, some legislator on local parliament (DPRD) also had said that permission to build MATOS is illegal due to this problem. These conditions strongly indicated that the permission related to the construction of the mall had been issued only based on a political and economical consideration and sacrificed the human security aspect.

When MATOS was still in early stage of construction, many parts of inhabitants rejected its presence. Surprisingly, another part of inhabitants affirmed their endorsement for the MATOS later on. These people said that the mall will open new jobs for local people and increase the development in Malang Municipality. These opposite opinions also led to physical clashes. However, the construction of the mall still can be continued amid controversy. The local government claimed that the mall did not violate the local law and policy. The Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) generally did not show significant effort to evaluate the permission for the MATOS using the excuse that the permission of the mall is the product of previous period of the Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD)

At the end, the MATOS could be constructed until the final stage. As predicted by many parties before, the presence of the mall really changes surrounding environments of the mall from a quiet and suitable condition for the academic location to become much more crowded with a traffic jam occurs almost throughout the day. Moreover,

mostly due to the significant decreasing of watersheds areas around the mall and insufficient drainage facilities, flooding has always been a problem in surrounding location of the mall every time it rains.

Malang Olympic Garden

The first idea behind the construction of Malang Olympic Garden (MOG) came from the success of Arema Indonesia Football Club (AIFC) to win the Copa Indonesia Soccer Cup in 2005 that made AIFC get right to compete in the Asian Champion League 2006 as Indonesia representation. The problem appeared when AIFC could not compete to the Asian Champion League due to several reasons such the home base of AIFC did not meet the international standard besides the late application by Indonesian Soccer Federation (PSSI, *Persatuan Sepakbola Seluruh Indonesia*). This condition was used as a reason by Peni Suparto (the mayor of Malang Municipality in that time) to renovate the Gajayana stadium (Arema's home base stadium). However, the controversy was appearing when the renovation of the stadium became a formal reason to construct the MOG.

Many elements of society had refused the plan to build MOG mainly based on the ecological aspect as a main consideration. The construction of MOG is widely believed to violate the controlled zone policy based on local regulation (PERDA) Number 7 of 2001 about the spatial plans of Malang Municipality 2001 – 2011 which states that the Gajayana stadium area as the green open space area. The construction of MOG was believed to increase not only the traffic jam problems in the city, but also socio-economic problems due to an accumulation of malls in the east part of Malang Municipality [17]. Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) members said that they did not get enough times (only 10 days) to study the plan [17]. However, the construction of MOG was still continued in the middle of rejection and controversy until established in 2008. Presently, after the construction of MOG, traffic jam and flooding are common problems in the surrounding area of the mall.

Ijen Nirwana Residence

Ijen Nirwana Residence (INR) is one the most exclusive and expensive housings in the Malang Raya. INR was built on the area previously used as a campus of Academic of Agricultural Instructor (APP, *Akademi Penyuluh Pertanian*) Malang. The APP itself had move to the Randuagung village in Malang Regency since 1996 while the previous location was become one of the city forest and important watersheds. The controversy about the over function of the location has taken a long time since the move of APP campus. Several plans proposed by local government and investors who want to use the location to various purposes such as a mall or a housing centre were failed due to rejections from many parts of Malang people. However, the over function of this location (except for a green open space area) finally occurred in 2007 when the INR was first constructed even rejections and critiques came from many urban development experts and various parts of society. The construction of NIR also led to another over function of the green open space in Malang Municipality by the construction of road accesses to the gate of INR that replaced the public gardens located in the middle of Raya Langsep Street.

6.2. Traditional market

In Indonesia, traditional market is defined as a market that is built and managed by the government, the regional governments, private entities, state-owned entities and region-owned entities, including through cooperation of private entities with such places of business as stores, kiosks, stalls and tents owned/managed by small or medium traders, community self-reliance or cooperative with small-scale enterprises, small capital and dealing commodities through bargaining [20]. Generally, the traditional markets are highly price competitive, with a large number of buyers and sellers. The traditional market has played important roles for socio-economical live aspects of local inhabitants for a long time. On the other hand, traditional markets also have negative stereotypes such as crowded, dirty, and become the cause of traffic jams. The traditional market is a hart of small and medium enterprises in Indonesia until the present day. Therefore, the urban development planning and policy that were relating to the presence and usage of the traditional markets must give a highly consideration and opportunity to the small and medium enterprises to survive and develop. Unfortunately, the policy of local governments in Malang Raya often

harm the sustainability of traditional markets as a public space that closely related with the socio-economic securities of inhabitants in Malang Raya.

Pasar Dinoyo and Pasar Blimbing

Pasar Dinoyo and Pasar Blimbing are traditional markets in Malang Municipality. The local government of Malang Municipality has policy to modernize the markets. This idea came from the evaluation on the presence of those markets that did not have an appropriate physical condition and to cause the traffic jam. The idea to renovate those markets is basically not problematic. The problem relating to the policy is that a cooperation agreement between local government and the investor of the markets are made in the middle of controversy and rejection of original traders. The renovation of the markets has been delaying due to a long negotiation among local government, investors and originally traders.

In the case of Pasar Dinoyo, this market is being rebuilt in order to establish the Mall Dinoyo City (MDC). This mall is planned to have of five floors that through a long negotiation and lobbying among local government, investor and original traders, the mall will allocate the first and second floor for Pasar Dinoyo traditional markets. The construction of the mall has started in 2012. At that time, the Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) said that the construction project are illegal because the construction had started before a ratification of cooperation agreement of the project (*i.e.*, between the local government and the investor) by the Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD), and thus, the construction must be stopped. Interestingly, based on law and formal procedure, the permission to build the mall can only be issued after the agreement is ratified by the local parliament. Another related controversial issue is the relocation of Pasar Dinoyo traditional market to Merjosari village which is not only decreases the income of the traders but also promotes environmental related problems in the relocation area. The conflict relating to the land acquisition for the mall was also appeared between the investor and the local government. The main problem of the conflict is who must responsible to the payment of land acquisition. This conflict occurred due to an unclear point about it in the cooperation agreement. However, the construction of MDC is still continued even in the middle of controversy.

For the case of Pasar Blimbing, local government plans to modernize the market and build integrated mall and luxury apartment in Pasar Blimbing's location named Malang Trade Centre (MTC). After rejection and long negotiation among local government, investor and original traders of Pasar Belimbing since 2011, relocation of original traders is just started at the beginning of 2013. As the case of Pasar Dinoyo, an agreement between investor and local government had been made before original traders accept the project. Original traders accepted the project after investor agreed to allocate the first and second floor of the building to be the traditional markets where all the original traders will not pay any money to use it. The building itself will have five floors where the third, fourth and fifth floor will be allocated to be a parking area, mall and luxury apartment. Negotiation among the local government, the investor and the original traders had taken a very long process with the strict supervision of Indonesian National Committee for Human Rights (KOMNAS HAM, *Komite Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia*).

Pasar Batu

The local government of Batu Municipality has planned to modernize Pasar Batu traditional market since 2009. However, realization of the plan cannot be conducted until present time. The main problem of Pasar Batu renovation is the agreement between local government and original traders cannot be obtained. Moreover, a draft of agreement that proposed by local government of Batu Municipality is still not approved by the Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) of Batu Municipality. The main different opinion between the traders and the local government is relating with the budget source for the construction. The local government proposed that investors will become the financier while the traders require the construction funds gain from the local government revenues and expenditures budget (APBD, *Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah*). The traders are afraid that their existence will be marginalized if the investor becomes the financier. As an addition, the traders think that they will not be able to pay the installments to purchase the kiosks because, in the present time many of the traditional traders still have delinquent mortgage payments related with the present kiosks or stands. In deals with this problem, local government of Batu Municipality has shown a good willing to delay the renovation until the agreement

between original traders, local government and Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) can be reached. The main reason proposed by local government to take this policy is the main purpose of the existence of Pasar Batu. That is to accommodate and support socio-economic live aspects of the inhabitants, and therefore, if local inhabitants do not agree to modernize the markets, it is not necessary to start the market renovation.

Pasar Kepanjen

Pasar Kepanjen is a traditional market located in Kepanjen city, the capital city of Malang Regency. Local government of Malang Regency has proposed to relocate Pasar Kepanjen to another location because they want to build a town square there. Main reason of this plan is because it located in the heart of Kepanjen city and surrounded by streets. However, rejection is coming from original traders of Pasar Kepanjen. They believed that a new location provided by the local government, Pasar Sumedang, is not sufficient for the biggest market in the city. They also argue that the local government does not show a clear vision and plan about the new market location. It particularly related to the access to the new location and purchase systems of kiosks and stands. Moreover, clear planning about the town square is also never floored by the local government. Until the present time, the plan to build a town square as a replacement for Pasar Kepanjen still become a debatable opinion.

6.3. City town square

City town square is an open public space commonly found in the town used for community gathering and other activities. In Indonesia, this open square commonly known as *alun-alun* which is a place for public spectacles, court celebrations and general non-court entertainments. Town square often also provides important functions as the lung of the city and watershed area in Indonesia including in Malang Raya. However, the utilization of town square as a public space in Malang Raya often sacrifices human security aspects.

Alun-alun Merdeka

Alun-alun Merdeka is the largest town square in Malang Municipality. The local regulation (PERDA) Number 7 of 2001 about the spatial plans of Malang Municipality 2001 – 2011 does not give permission to reconstruct the square except for the purpose related to the green open space function. However, the local government had used parts of the town square to build the office of One Roof system (Samsat, *Sistem Administrasi Manunggal Satu Atap*) and the station of Civil Service Police (POL PP, *Polisi Pamong Praja*) and exploited the square to become a parking lot.

Alun-alun Batu

Alun-alun Batu is a town square located in Batu Municipality. This town square plays important functions as lungs of the city, watershed area, and location for various socio-economic activities of local inhabitants. Almost all parts of inhabitants did not show any rejection when idea to renovate the Alun-alun Batu appeared. However, the pro and contra opinions occurred after a new site plan was explained by the local government of Batu Municipality. Many parts of society disagreed with the plan to build a commercial amusement park there. The renovation of the town square was finally conducted after the local government accommodated public opinion to maintain the function of the town square as the watershed and centre for socio-economic and recreational activity of local inhabitants. Nevertheless, the renovation itself is believed by many parties to be greatly determined by political business deals.

6.4. Pedestrian road

Pedestrian road (PD) generally can be defined as areas of a city or town reserved for pedestrian only use and in which some or all automobile traffic may be prohibited. The presence and usage of pedestrian road is often become a debatable problem in urban areas in Indonesia including in Malang Raya. Common problems relating to PD in

Malang Raya usually are inappropriate usage such as the location of cadger or parking lot, insufficient construction in provide safety and comfort for pedestrians, and insufficient quantity of PD along streets in the city. All of these problems led to the failure of PD as public space to provide various human functioning aspects such as health, safety, and socio-economic aspects. The maintenance and construction project of PD is often become a controversy in Malang Raya. The controversy is usually related with the inappropriate construction compared to the budget allocation and the long and unsure time of maintenance and construction. The problems frequently led to the supposition of corruption and collusion relating to the project.

7. Behind the scene

Analysis relating to public spaces in Malang Raya described above showed that the presence and usage of public spaces in the region are highly influenced by local political elites, *i.e.*, local government and District or Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD). Interestingly, although rejections of the society to the policy and/or planning relating to the presence and usage of the public spaces often occurred, the local governments oftentimes insisted to apply their planning and policy about the changes on the presence and usage of the public spaces even it violated spatial plans ordering in local regulation (PERDA).

Spatial plans are the master plan of development in the municipality. Thus, spatial plans are made through careful considerations. Consequently, changes related with the spatial plans must be made carefully and considered public opinions. However, the implementation of decision relating to spatial plans in Malang Raya region often do not accommodate the opinion of many parties who have consent on the development of Malang Raya region. When the rejections came from the society, the local governments seem to delay and reconsider the plans and decisions relating to the changes on the presence and usage of the public spaces. In some cases, this led to the changes of planning or site plans that become more accommodating the interest of all related parties. However, in many cases, the local governments still run their plans although it is against public opinions. In case such MATOS another element of the society uttered their acceptance and support to the MATOS construction that make the controversy relating to the changes on the presence and usage of the public spaces becomes more complex. The supporting opinion often used by local government as a justification to continue the decision about the changes on the presence and usage of the public spaces. There is strong indication that local elites such as local business actors play important role to propel the demonstration.

District or Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD)'s controls on the local government policies relating to the changes on the presence and usage of public spaces in Malang Raya seems to be relatively weak. Decisions relating to the presence and usage of public spaces were often made in the critical period such as a transition from the previous period of District or Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) or in the very short allocation of time because the facilities must be used soon. Only in the few cases such in the renovation of Pasar Batu, the District or Municipal People's Representative Assembly (DPRD) showed tight control and rejection to the plan of local government. Often, although different opinion relating to the changes on the presence and usage of the public spaces occurred among the legislator, generally they did not show the strong control and rejection to the planning, especially, when other part of society (albeit relatively small compared to those who oppose) showed the acceptance and support to the planning.

The interesting question that appears from above situation are why the government often insist to run their policy and decision about the changes on the presence and usage of the public spaces in middle of controversy and rejection, and what is the main motive behind the inability of local governments to manage the presence and usage of public spaces to support human security aspect of inhabitant. One of possible analysis to clarify this issue is by look in detail the involved parties having a big interest to the presence and usage of the public space.

National actor influence

The complicity of national investors to the presence and usage of public spaces in Malang Raya is relatively strong. For example, MATOS and MOG were built by the Lippo Group owned by Mochtar Riady who is born in Malang. The lippo group is believed to have strong influence on the local political elites in many cities including in Malang Raya. The similar thing is also found for the case of INR that built by the Bakrie Group. The central actor in

this case is Nirwan Bakrie. He also has a very close relation with the Arema Indonesia Football Club (AIFC), the soccer club using Malang Raya as a home base city. He has become funder of this club since the club established. The fan community of AIFC is the biggest social community in Malang Raya and often considered to be one of the most fanatic supporters among all of the Indonesian soccer clubs supporters. Strong influence of national players on the local political actors in Malang Raya seems to greatly affect the decision of local government relating with the presence and usage of public spaces. One type of the connections among local business actors and national ones is the local business actors become a share holder in the company of national business actors.

Connection among local actors

Decentralization in Indonesia not only gives more power and authority to local government, but also increases the dynamics of local political constellation. In this case, the decisions of local government including those related with the presence and usage of public spaces are often affected by the interest of local elites. One of the most influencing local elites is local business actors. The local business actors in Malang Raya is indicated to have played important roles in the election of mayor and regent resulting in their strong influence to the elected major and regent. Moreover, the business actors also have strong influence to the biggest social community in Malang raya through their position relating to AIFC and Aremania Soccer Fun Community (Aremania). This condition make the business actors have the access to control and influence the development in Malang Raya both from formal political decision maker and social community opinion.

One of the uniqueness about inhabitant in Malang Raya region is they are connected and united by the historical geographical relation as “Arema” which is an abbreviation of “*Arek Malang*” that have meaning the people of Malang. Most people of Malang or “Arema” has strong and long historical connection with the presence of AIFC even there are two soccer club using Malang as a home base city (*i.e.*, Arema soccer club and Persema soccer club). This condition results in the unique position of Aremania as the biggest social community in Malang. The jargon that used in Aremania that represent the relation among the members is “*Salam Satu Jiwa*” that has meaning to be united in one soul, and “*Loyalitas Tanpa Batas*” literally meaning as an unlimited loyalty. This condition make the access to Aremania is one of the most important position that become main consent of local business and political actors in Malang Raya.

The pro and contra opinions relating with the presence and usage of public spaces in Malang Raya are strongly indicated to be influenced by the local business actors in Malang Raya. The actors often play the important roles to steer the public opinions by using media and demonstration. This condition compels national investors that want to invest in Malang Raya to must have a special deal with them. The deals often related with the right to gain profits from the security and parking system. Owing to strong influences to the local political constellation in Malang Raya, the local political business actors seems to also gain projects related with governmental infrastructures such as to build a regent office, to build official residents of regent or mayor, construction and maintenance of pedestrian road, construction and maintenance of bridges etc.

The connection among local business actors also become important factor affected political constellation in Malang Raya. The business actors oftentimes have assets not only in one region, for example, one of the strongest business actors in Malang Municipality has hotels and other assets in Batu Municipality. This make he has a big interest to the mayor election in Batu Municipality and lead to the political involvement in the local election (PILKADA). The elected mayor of Batu Municipality himself has businesses in Malang Municipality. In this case, through the lobbying and deal with the business actors in Malang Municipality (who have strong influences to the local government of Malang Municipality), those business can be protected and developed. Thus, it seems that the lobbying and negotiation between business political elites have strong influences to the presence and usage of public spaces in Malang Raya

The utilization of public spaces that sacrificed the fulfillment of human life aspects supposed to occur also in other urban area in Indonesia such as Jakarta, Medan and Surabaya [23, 24, 25]. There is a possibility that the political and business interest having great influence to this condition. However, to the best of author knowledge, the study that investigated the influences of local political business constellation to the presence and usage of public spaces in urban area in Indonesia has rarely been conducted. Although the condition in Malang Raya may be different with other cities or regions, the result of the present study might be used as a reference to analysis the

influence of local elites to the presence and usage of public spaces, particularly how the political business actors influencing the utilization of public spaces to fit with their real interests.

8. Conclusion

This study shows that the presence and usage of public spaces in Malang Raya region are highly affected by the local elites (*i.e.*, political and business actors). The changes of the presence and usage of public spaces in Malang Raya often sacrificed the function of the public spaces to support human security aspects mainly due to the inability of the local government to choose the appropriate policy and decision. The inability itself cannot be separated from the local political business constellation in the region. The local elites are indicated to be frequently influenced economical and political decisions in order to steer a public space utilization to defend and expand their wealth and power. In this case, the utilization of public spaces as a part of human security fulfillment is often defeated by business and political interests. Lobby and negotiation among elites also gave strong influences to the presence and usage of public space. Moreover, the access to the local mass base such as the Aremania soccer fans society seems to be significant to the political business constellation in Malang Raya.

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